

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 110316  
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011

DRAFTED BY:IO/UNA:BJSHARP  
APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:JFTEFFT  
S/S-O:RHART

-----125034 011911Z /46

R 011828Z MAY 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110316

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT DAR ES SALAAM 1861 ACTION SECSTATE APRIL 30

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 1861

EXDIS

OPS CENTER PLEASE DELIVER TO HARROP FOR SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, TZ  
SUBJECT\* PRESIDENT CARTER'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE

REF: STATE 110023

1. REFTTEL LEAVES ME WITH SOME DOUBT THAT IT IS BEST POSSIBLE WAY OF INFLUENCING NYERERE TO FURTHER COOPERATION ON NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. THE TALKING POINTS IN PARA 2 AND PARA 3 (ESPECIALLY A, D, AND E) ARE USEFUL, BUT THE LETTER HAS, TO ME AT LEAST, A SLIGHTLY CONTENTIOUS TONE TO WHICH NYERERE DOES NOT REACT WELL--NOTWITHSTANDING THE FACT THAT HE MAY USE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SAME TONE HIMSELF ON OCCASION. THE LETTER SEEMS UNNECESSARILY LONG AND DETAILED. IT CONTAINS A FEW "RED FLAGS" ON ISSUES THAT ARE NOT ESSENTIAL TO OUR PURPOSE, E.G., THE REFERENCE TO NYERERE'S MISPERCEPTION OF THE DAR MEETING.

2. THE LETTER IS ALSO LESS CLEAR THAN I WOULD LIKE ON EXACTLY WHAT MORE WE WANT NYERERE TO DO. OUR PURPOSE SHOULD BE NOT

TO DEBATE WITH HIM BUT TO GET SPECIFIC ACTION TO PUT THE NAMIBIA PROPOSALS THROUGH THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND TO KEEP THE PATRIOTIC FRONT COMMITTED AND GET IT TO BE MORE FLEXIBLE ON RHODESIA. PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO NAMIBIA, NYERERE'S PRIVATE AND PUBLIC POSITIONS ARE ALREADY ON RECORD IN CLEAR SUPPORT OF OUR PROPOSALS. AS THE APRIL 29 EDITORIAL IN CPE DAILY NEWS (AS REPORTED IN DAR 1858) SAYS: "WE CAN PROMISE TANZANIA'S WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT FOR THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND THE WORK OF HIS REPRESENTATIVE IN NAMIBIA." (HERE THE KEY WORK PROBABLY LIES WITH MKAPA IN NEW YORK ON TACTICS RATHER THAN WITH NYERERE IN DAR ES SALAAM ON PRINCIPLES.)

3. FINALLY, THERE IS AN INTANGIBLE "SOMETHING" WHICH TELLS ME AFTER TWO YEARS OF DEALING WITH NYERERE THAT HE WOULD NOT CONSIDER THE PRESENT LETTER "A GOOD ONE." I THINK WE CAN GIVE HIM "A GOOD ONE" WHICH WILL INFLUENCE HIS POSITION WITHOUT UNDERCUTTING OURS OR REDUCING THE POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE COOPERATION. AN ALTERNATIVE DRAFT FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPH 5.

4. IF YOU FEEL THAT THE URGANCY ON NAMIBIA IS SUCH AS NNT TO BROOK EVEN TWENTY-FOUR HOURS DELAY, I COULD, PENDING RECEIPT OF THE FINAL LETTER, SEEK TO SEA NYERERE SUNDAY BEFORE YOU MEET WITH MKAPA IN NEW YORK TO DELIVER AN ORAL MESSAGE TO THE EFFECT THAT (A) WE HAVE REACHED A CRISIS STAGE ON NAMIBIA, (B) WE CANNOT NEGOTIATE THE PROPOSALS ANY FURTHER, (C) WE STAND BY OUR WILLINGNESS (NOW COMING TO BE SHARED BY THE OTHER FOUR) CONFIDENTIAL

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TO ISSUE A STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY, (D) WE ARE GOING TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, AND (E) WE ARE COU VING ON TANZANIA'S SUPPORT THERE, REGARDLESS OF SWAPO'S FINAL POSITION.

5. PLEASE ADVISE YOUR REACTION TO PARA 4 ABOVE AND TO DRAFT LETTER BELOW ASAP.

6. BEGIN TEXT: DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: SECRETARY VANCE HAS NOW REPORTED TO ME ON HIS MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU IN DAR ES SALAAM. I APPRECIATE THE WELCOME YOU GAVE HIM, YOUR EFFORTS TO ARRANGE THE CONFERENCE, AND YOUR VALUABLE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT.

BEFORE ADDRESSING YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 20 AND YOUR THOUGHTS ON RHODESIA, I WANT TO SHARE WITH YOU A FEW THOUGHTS OF MY OWN ON NAMIBIA. I APPLAUD THE HELFUL POSITION YOU, AND NOW FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA IN NEW YORK, HAVE TAKEN ON THIS PROBLEM. I AM CONVINCED THAT THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSALS ARE THE BEST THAT WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE, THAT NO FURTHER NEGOTIATION ON THEM WILL BE EFFECTIVE, AND THAT WE MUST GET INTERNATIONAL APPROVAL OF THEM NOW. WE HAVE SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTED. WE DO NOT WANT TO GIVE IT A CHANCE TO TURN BACK

TO SOME KIND OF "INTERNAL SOLUTION."

MANY FREEDOM-SEEKING PEOPLE WITHIN NAMIBIA, INCLUDING DISTINGUISHED CHURCHMEN, HAVE MADE CLEAR THEIR SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO CONVINCE MR. NUJOMA THAT THEY REPRESENT THE ANSWER TO HIS NEEDS. I RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE DONE A GREAT DEAL TOWARD THIS END AND EARNESTLY HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO HELP SWAY THE BALANCE WITH MR. NUJOMA NOW.

I KNOW ALSO THAT THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO SWAPO AND OF CONCERN TO YOU AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE STATEMENT THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO MAKE WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY IN THE EVENT  
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SWAPO ACCEPTS THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL. WHILE THIS MAY NOT GO AS FAR AS SWAPO WOULD LIKE, IT MAKES CLEAR WHERE OUR SUPPORT WILL LIE WHEN THE ISSUE IS JOINED.

AS SECRETARY VANCE MADE PLAIN TO MR. NUJOMA WHEN THEY MET ON APRIL 27, THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO DO ALL IT CAN TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTIES WILL ENJOY FAIR CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE ELECTION PERIOD.

A POSITIVE RESPONSE BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN MAY WOULD PERMIT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL TO BEGIN. IN THE SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS AND MUTUAL TRUST WHICH HAS MARKED ALL OF OUR DISCUSSIONS, I THEREFORE ASK FOR TANZANIA'S SUPPORT IN BRINGING ABOUT RAPID AND EFFECTIVE SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION.

TO TURN TO RHODESIA, I WAS PLEASED TO RECEIVE YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE COMMUNIQUE ITSELF WAS LESS THAN PERFECT. IT WAS DRAFTED IN A LENGTHY AND TIRING MEETING WHICH LEFT ALL PARTIES DISSATISFIED. FROM OUR STANDPOINT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT MEETING WAS MARKED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S REJECTION OF THE POSITION THAT THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER SHOULD HAVE AUTHORITY OVER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND THE FUNCTIONING OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND BY REPEATED DISAGREEMENTS AS TO WHAT HAD OR HAD NOT BEEN AGREED TO EARLIER.

TO ME THE ESSENCE OF A TRANSITION ARRANGEMENT MUST BE GENUINE NEUTRALITY, AND THE PRINCIPLE THAT ARRANGEMENTS FOR IT MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS IS A KEY ONE.

LIKE YOU, HOWEVER, I AM MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE BEST WAY TO  
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BUILD ON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING THAN ABOUT INDIVIDUAL POSITIONS TAKEN THERE. IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT WE MUST ALL PRESERVE CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT SINCE THERE ARE MANY ISSUES WHICH REQUIRE FURTHER DISCUSSION. FOR EXAMPLE, I RECOGNIZE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S CONCERN ABOUT THE POLICE BUT I AM ALSO MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH ARRANGEMENTS FOR LAW AND ORDER THAT INSPIRE THE CONFIDENCE OF EVERYONE ENGAGED IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. THERE IS FURTHER PROGRESS TO BE MADE ON THIS POINT.

I AGREE ALSO THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE LET BISHOP MUZOREWA KNOW ABOUT THE PROGRESS MADE IN DAR ES SALAAM AND THAT WE CONTINUE TO TRY TO PERSUADE HIM TO PULL BACK FROM DISASTER BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THIS WAS THE MESSAGE SECRETARY VANCE'S PARTY CONVEYED IN SALISBURY.

I AM DISAPPOINTED BY THE SALISBURY GROUP'S STATEMENT THAT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE DOOMED TO FAIL. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THAT THE GROUP MAY BE SPLIT ON THIS ISSUE AND THAT THE STATEMENT ITSELF IS NOT, ON ITS FACE, A CATEGORIAL REJECTION OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. WE INTEND TO KEEP THE PRESSURE ON. DURING THE COMING WEEKS WE WILL CONTINUE TO REMIND SALISBURY THAT ONLY A SETTLEMENT WHICH IS DEMONSTRABLY FAIR AND LETS ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATE EQUITABLY IN THE TRANSITIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESS CAN BE ASSURED OF RECEIVING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AAN ALL PARTIES CONFERENCE AS THE NEXT BEST STEP IN THE DIRECTION OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT, AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL JOIN ME IN THIS AND IN URGING FLEXIBILITY ON THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

TO REALIZE OUR COMMON HOPES FOR RHODESIA, FULL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IS IMPORTANT. YOUR COOPERATION AND THOUGHTFUL COUNSEL ARE ONCE AGAIN MOST TIMELY, AND I THANK YOU FOR SHARING THEM WITH ME. SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER. END TEXT. SPAIN.  
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESIDENT, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 01 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978STATE110316  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** IO/UNA:BJSHARP  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
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**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 78 STATE 110023  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25 jul 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2529832  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** PRESIDENT CARTER'S RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT NYERERE  
**TAGS:** PDEV, PPDC, RH, TZ, WA, (CARTER, JIMMY), (NYERERE, JULIUS K)  
**To:** USUN NEW YORK  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/c7a7a494-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014